THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

PREFACE.

THE Survey of Western Palestine, after three years and a half of uninterrupted work, has received a temporary check by the attack on the party at Safed, on July 10th. The full particulars of this attack will be found in the report partly drawn up by Lieutenant Conder, but signed and despatched during his illness, by Lieutenant Kitchener. On the arrival of the intelligence the Foreign Office was at once communicated with, and no time was lost in sending instructions to Palestine. Our last news, dated August 25th, informs us that the trial was fixed to come on at Acre. Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener remained in the Convent of Carmel in order to give their evidence; they will stay there till the affair is settled: and the British Consul-General of Beyrout has been instructed by the Foreign Office to be represented on the occasion. No provocation of any kind has yet been discovered for the attack.

Meantime the triangulation is for the moment stopped. The Committee have been put to great additional expense, and, pending

the result of the trial—in consideration, also, of the unhealthy state of the country—the non-commissioned officers have been sent home.

It is hoped to resume the triangulation without much delay; the office work will meanwhile go on in England as well as in Palestine, and the check to the Survey will not, it is trusted, be greater than the time occupied in settling the affair. Justice must, however, be obtained before the party can again venture into the disturbed district.

Such an accident has naturally caused a considerable strain upon the finances, and our supporters are earnestly requested to remember that the expenses of the year have to be met. In April last the Committee asked for £3,500 before the end of the year. This appeal has been so far met that a fair proportion of the amount has been forwarded to the office within the six months which have elapsed since April 1st. The sum looked for up to the end of the year to meet expenses and pay off the more important liabilities is about £1,500. Subscribers are *most earnestly* asked to make their payments as early in October as possible.

NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be safely left payable to bearer.

Dr. Chaplin writes from Jerusalem, August 13, 1875:—"The souterrain north of the platform in the Haram has recently been opened. On comparing my notes with those of Captain Warren, it appears that the chamber is in the same state as when he saw it. If the earth can be removed into the bays it will be possible to examine the two ends. As to the northern side and what is beyond it, I fear that we shall learn nothing more than we know at present. They may perhaps dig a hole in the wall and try to ascertain if there is, or has been, a chamber beyond. The present aspect of the wall does not give much hope of finding a church beyond. It is a comparatively modern wall of very rough workmanship, and I could not find any trace of pillars, or piles, or arches, such as might be supposed to separate the aisles of a church from the nave."

Further examination was stopped by command of the authorities.

The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

The amount received from all sources between June 30th and September 30th was £867 1s. 6d. The balance of current accounts at the latter date was only £140 0s. 6d.

The Committee regret to announce that Mr. St. Clair, who has lectured for the Fund for nearly six years, has resigned his appointment. Application for lectures can be addressed to the Secretary, by whom, for the present, arrangements for the season will be made.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Association are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

A memorial window to the late Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake is to be put up in the chapel of Wellington College. Half of the expense will be borne by the college, half by Mr. Drake's personal friends. Any of these who would wish to join in this tribute may address the Rev. W. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, Great Gaddesden.

THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

RETROSPECT FOR 1875.

CONVENT ON CARMEL, 12*th August*, 1875.

As a detailed report is due from me, but impossible under present circumstances, I send home a few notes on our discoveries during the course of this year.

On the 28th of February we succeeded in leaving Jerusalem, and in twelve days filled in and triangulated 330 square miles of the desert west of the Dead Sea, visiting and planning Masada. We experienced at the close of this work some of the most boisterous weather we have ever withstood.

Crossing to Beit Jibrin at the edge of the Philistine plain we commenced on the 12th of March the survey of this most interesting district, and completed the whole, except a very small portion near Beersheba, by the 15th of May. Our main results were as follows:— We visited the ruin of Sheikh el Madhkûr, where we verified M. Ganneau's discovery of the existence of the name 'Aid-el-Mieh, attaching to a part of the ruins. In my report I showed the fitness of the site for identification with Adullam, as suggested by M. Ganneau, including the existence of caves still inhabited.

We were next able to throw light on the difficulty as to the existence of two Mediæval Ascalons by our discovery of a Khirbet 'Ascalûn, evidently an early Christian ruin. We made a careful survey of Ascalon to a large scale, with photographs by Lieut. Kitchener.

In the neighbourhood of Gaza we discovered five new Greek inscriptions, and obtained some information as to the ancient extent and site of this city. Lieut. Kitchener was the first to photograph the interior of the cathedral of St. John Baptist, now a mosque, formerly a church, even earlier than Crusading times.

We also visited and described the ruins of Khirbet Umm el Jerar, generally supposed to be the Gerar of Abraham.

Turning north, our most interesting exploration was the village of El Moghar, suggested by Captain Warren to be the site of Makkedah. We found caves here, being the only place in the plain where such caves exist. We also discovered a site called Deir el Aashek, which I have proposed to identify with the long lost Azekah. We visited the sites of the valley of Elah and the valley of Sorek, of both of which Lieutenant Kitchener took effective photographs.

The following is a sketch of the identifications which I imagine to be new, which I would suggest for reasons afterwards to be given in full. They extend over the whole of the tribe of Judah :—

1. *'Azekah—Deir el 'Aashek*, from its position and the similarity of name.
2. *Shaaraim*, in the LXX. Σεκαριμ with *Tell Zekariyeh*, from its position.
3. *Gederah—Tell Jedeideh*, from position and name.
4. *Zaanan—Kh. Sámeh*, from position and name.
5. *Hadashah—'Abdas*, from position and name.
6. *Dilean—Beit Tima*. Vandevelde's identification with Tineh, which on some maps is confounded with Beit Tima, can be proved inadmissible.
7. *Mispeh—Khirbet el Musheirefeh*, near Gaza. The position fits, and the name is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew.
8. *Cabbon—El Kubeibeh*, from proximity to the next.
9. *Lahmas—Khirbet el Lahm*, near the last.
10. *Kithlish*, may be, I suggest, *Kh. Makkus :* in the LXX. Μααχως takes the place of Kithlish.
11. *Gederoth—Gatrah*, from name and position.
12. *Naameh—Na'ani*, from name and position. This may be known to some scholars, but has not, I believe, been published as an identification.
13. *Libnah*, it is suggested in a former report, may be *Beit Jibrin*.
14. *Ether—Khirbet 'Atr*, from name and position.
15. *Ashan—Kh. Hazzanah*, from name and position. The Hebrew *'Ain* becomes the Arabic *He*.
16. *Ashnah—Idhna*, from name and position.
17. *Achzib—Kussa ;* the name has the same signification ; in the Hebrew "a lie," in the Arabic "a fable ;" the position fits well.
18. *Dannah—Domeh*, from position.
19. *Debir—El Dhoheriyeh*.
20. *Holon—Khirbet Koheleh*, name and position.
21. *Arab—Kh. el 'Arabiyeh*, name and position.
22. *Dumah or Rumah—El Rameh*, from position.
23. *Eshean—Es-ha*, from name and position. The Arabic *He* takes the place of the Hebrew *'Ain*.
24. *Janum—Beit Chanún*, from position.
25. *Zanoah—Kh. Sánút*, in a position better fitting the lists than that of Robinson's *Zanuta*.
26. *Maarath, el Mogh'air*, from position and name.
27. *Galem—Beit Jala*, from name and position.
28. *Bezedel—Deir Esneid*, from position.

About a dozen other identifications in Judah have been mentioned in former reports. I am not aware that any ordinary philological rules are infringed in these proposed identifications.

Dr. Chaplin upholds the identity of the strong village of *Soba* with *Kirjath Jearim*. I have found a curious apparent confirmation of this in the possible identification of *Mount Seir* on the boundary of Judah with the present *Batn* (hill-top) *el Saghir*, just in its proper place. Dr. Chaplin has also shown me very strong arguments for the identification of Ebenezer, Shen, and Mispeh.

Whilst resting in Jerusalem we examined the *Asnerie*, a Crusading inn for pilgrims, which has been excavated by Herr Schick, and shows long rows of mangers. It is close to the Grotto of Jeremiah.

Passing up the country we made several notes of interest. We found that a *Khirbet Lozeh* or *Kh. Wad Lozeh*, not yet placed on the map, really exists near Bethel. At Nablus we found that nearly the whole of the floor and foundations of the early church built over Jacob's well exists, hidden by modern vaults. We also discovered that the name *Khirbet Luzeh*, about which there has been much argument, applies to some ruins on the south side of Gerizim.

Arriving in the north, we commenced the ordinary survey in conjunction with the running a line of levels across from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee. Before the outrage at Safed, on 10th July, we completed 180 square miles, and twenty out of thirty miles of levelling. Some 1,200 square miles, or six months' work, now remain to be done.

Our discoveries in the north promised to be of great interest: many identifications want only confirmation to be proposed, such as *Beth-Dagon*, *Shihor-Libnath*, *Zebulon*, *Neah*, &c.

At Shefa 'Amr we found a magnificent sepulchre with inscription and elaborate ornamental work, which Lieut. Kitchener photographed. We found the present church to be built on the remains of one seemingly previous to Crusading times. We also fixed the date and authorship of the fortifications.

We next found in *Khirbet Rumeh* a site of no small mediæval interest. According to an early Jewish traveller there was in the very neighbourhood of this ruin a place called *Ruma*, where was the sepulchre of Benjamin, and a cave called Caisran, whence the Messiah was expected to appear. At *Kh. Rumeh*, which eighty years ago was a village, I found a rude Jewish tomb much ruined, and a cave of some size beyond it, also remains possibly of a synagogue.

We visited the rival sites of Cana of Galilee at Khirbet Káná; I discovered traces of antiquity and a grotto, apparently that said to be used as a church in the middle ages. We also ascertained the existence of an ancient site called *Khirbet Kenna*, west of and near to Kefr Kenna.

We photographed and planned the fine church of St. Anne in Seffurieh, and found the date of the castle.

We are able to identify the *Mount Asamon* of Josephus with *Ras el Hazweh* north of the Buttauf plain.

I have found the date and builder of several of the synagogues discovered by Major Wilson, and I hope to obtain evidence from them as to the length of the cubit.

The total amount surveyed in 1875 has been 1,200 square miles.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

DAVID AND GOLIATH.

Ver. 1-3: "Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and were gathered together at Shochoh, which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Shochoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim. And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the valley of Elah . . . and the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them." Ver. 52: "And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim, even unto Gath, and unto Ekron" (1 Sam. xvii.)

Few events in Scripture have the site more definitely indicated. The valley of Elah has long been known, but the interesting attempt to fix the very spot where David slew Goliath has been rendered difficult by the fact that Shochoh alone of all the sites enumerated (not including Ekron) has been definitely identified.

I propose to consider each of these sites in turn, with the indications known as to their position, and to put forward new identifications for Azekah, Ephes-dammim, and Shaaraim; these will, I think, very clearly indicate the position of the two armies, and the meaning of certain details in the description not hitherto illustrated.

Shochoh.—There were two places of the name, one in the Debir district, far away from the scenes of combat with the Philistines, the other in the district of the Shephelah, or low hill country on the south side of Wady Sumt, as identified by Robinson with the modern Shuweikeh, a position fully in accord with its mention in the topographical lists as between Adullam ('Aid el Mieh) and other northern towns of the district.

Azekah.—This town occurs in the same list with Shochoh (Josh. xv. 35), as in the Shephelah. The only other indication of its position is to be found in the account of the flight of the defeated Canaanites from Ajalon to Makkedah and Azekah (Josh x. 10). In the topographical list Azekah stands between Shochoh and Shaaraim. It must therefore be sought in the Shephelah, but the same reasons which induce us to place Makkedah at El Moghar—namely, the distance from Gibeon, and the relative position with the mouth of the valley of Ajalon—would point to Azekah being near the north boundary of Judah, and close to the plain. Azekah has been placed by some writers at Tell Zekaría, but to this there is the objection of an important difference in name. Vandevelde speaks of a place called Ahbek, near Beit Nettif, as being both Aphek and Azekah. In the same neighbourhood M. Ganneau tells me he heard the name El Azek. Vandevelde's Ahbek is applied to a prominent peak, but on his map the name is written Akbeh. The true name as collected by us is El Salah. Akbeh is no doubt merely '*Akabeh*, "the ascent," a title generally applied to such hills. As to El Azek, we have been unable to obtain the name, although a special expedition was made, and the camp fixed for two days close to the site. The Sheikh of Beit 'Atáb,

one of the best guides we have ever had, and well acquainted with this part of the country, denied that such a name existed, but gave me the name which I afterwards have verified and consider to represent the true site.

There is a great objection to placing Azekah so far east in the hills, which is that it supposes the defeated Canaanites to have fled across some thirty miles of the most difficult hill country, intersected by three or four impassable valleys. A position near the plain is the only one natural to the interpretation of the flight from Ajalon.

The site which I should propose for Azekah bears the name of Deir el 'Aashek ("the monastery of the lover"), a somewhat extraordinary title, according to its significance in modern Arabic. The change of the name to one having a similar sound but a distinct meaning in Arabic, is only another case of the well-known law of which Tibnah (strawy) for Timnah, El Semak (the fish) for Sycaminum, Aid el Mieh (feast of the hundred) for Adullam, Er Rameh (the reservoir) for Ramah (the hill, in Hebrew), and many others, are instances. It is situated on the south side of the valley of Sorek, eight miles north of Shochoh. A main road leads to it from the valley of Elah. It may be thought that the distance from Shuweikeh is too great, but it must be remembered that *no known ancient site* exists between the two. The position agrees perfectly with the other indication, as it would immediately confront the Canaanites flying southward from the valley of Ajalon. The distance from El Moghar is rather greater than that from Shochoh.

The site itself has undoubtedly been at one time crowned by a convent. A very large square reservoir of rubble masonry, resembling that at Tell Jezer, supplied the inhabitants. The remains of a chapel, an apse fifteen feet diameter, exists north of this birket, and the northern wall, twenty-six feet from the north side of the apse, shows that the building was of some size. At present all is overgrown with weeds and tall thistles, so that the time is unfavourable for exploration. Cisterns and caves, however, occur, and the site is considerably larger than would be required for a religious edifice only. Another very large ruined site, Khirbet Ferred, exists just south of Deir el Aashek. A main road from T. Zakería to Tell Jezer leads close by the site which looks northward to the broad plain of the Valley of Sorek, and this is a natural line of flight for the Canaanites, who we read "entered into fenced cities," such as Makkedah, Azekah, Gath, Shaaraim, and, no doubt, Gezer also. The existence of the convent shows the origin of the term Deir, but there is nothing against the antiquity of the site in the fact of its subsequent occupation by Christians.

Ephes-dammim.—What and where Ephes-dammim may be is a difficult question. The translation offered for the word in the Bible Dictionary is "boundary of blood," in which case it may be taken to apply to some great natural boundary, the scene of frequent fights between the Jews and the Philistines. In another account, apparently of this same battle, the word is shortened to Pas-dammim (1 Chron. xi. 13).

In Josephus it is given as Arasam (Ant. vii. 12, § 4). Vandevelde speaks of a ruin called Dámún on the north side of Wady Sumt east of the Roman road to Beit Nettif, but for this ruin we have obtained a different name, nor have we as yet been able to ascertain for certain whether the name Dámún really exists, though, according to some of the peasantry, it applies to a site nearer the high hills. The memory of ancient engagements in the Shephelah may reasonably be thought traceable in such titles as "springs of the warrior," "well of the hero's mother," unusual names applying to natural features, and therefore undeniably ancient. The only traces of the title, "boundary of blood," which we have met, may perhaps be found in the name Beit Fased applied to a ruin close to Shuweikeh; both in sound and meaning this approaches Pas-dammim, for the S in Hebrew being a *Samech* is represented by the Arabic *'Sad*, whilst the meaning, "house of bleeding," is cognate to the Hebrew "boundary of blood." It was, no doubt, the great valley itself separating the possessions of the Philistine from the country belonging to Judah which was the real boundary of blood, and as the expression "in Ephes-dammim" might be supposed to indicate, the title is that of a district of country rather than of a single site.

Valley of Elah.—The valley itself is well known to be the great valley rising near Hebron, and running northwards by Keilah, Nezib, and Adullam to Shochoh, and thence westwards to the sea by Gath and Ashdod. The Hebrew "Valley of Terebinths" receives the name of Wady Súr in the upper part of its course, and Wady Sumt (the acacia) in the lower, becoming finally a deep gully under the name of Nahr Sukereir. Nevertheless the cause of its original title is still traceable in the number of huge terebinths which occur along its course. That at Adullam I have had occasion already to notice; one almost equal to it exists south; near Tell Zekaría is another of great antiquity, which we have photographed. On the sides of the tell just mentioned are others, and small terebinths exist on the low hills bounding the valley. This great natural division of the Shephelah is still the highway from Hebron to the plain, and seems in all the early periods of Jewish history to have been the scene of constant fighting. Holding Gath and Shaaraim the Philistines held the key to the plains, and a strong outpost for attack upon the Shephelah.

There is a point with regard to the valley which has always been considered to require investigation on the spot. Saul camped in the Emek, "broad or deep valley," whilst between him and the Philistines was the Gäi, generally translated *ravine*. The valley is, however, of uniform breadth, nor does a gorge of any kind exist in its lower course, as the usual interpretation supposes; the derivation of the latter word is, however, according to Dean Stanley, from *Gih*, "to break out, used of water bursting forth." It may be very well applied, therefore, I should suggest, to the trench or *ghor* dug out by the winter torrent. This bed, some ten to twenty feet wide, with banks over ten feet high, would form a natural barrier between the hosts, and a formidable obstacle to the

flight of the defeated. It was in this that David found the five smooth stones of the brook which, according to tradition, cried out, "By us thou shalt defeat the giant." The gleaming torrent bed, and the steep water-worn banks, consist of pebbles of every size worn smooth by the great winter brook which has brought them from the hills.

Shaaraim.—No identification has ever been proposed, I believe, for this town. Like Shochoh, it belonged to Judah, and was evidently east of Gath. In the topographical list it occurs next after Azekah. The Septuagint version of our text renders it by its meaning "the two gates," as if referring to the gates of Gath. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Hagiographa, however, carefully preserves the word Shaaraim, though in expression "gates of Ekron" in the same verse it replaces the Shaari of the Hebrew by an Aramaic equivalent meaning gates. In the topographical notice (Josh. xv. 36) the two principal LXX. versions give Σακαρίμ and Σαργαρειμ, which naturally suggests to one who attaches importance to these variations the identity with Tell Zekaría. Such a position for Shaaraim would be in exact accordance with the site proposed for the combat, for Tell Zekaría is close above the south bank of the valley, and must be passed in escaping to Gath. It is a huge hill, with steep terraced sides and caves; on the south is a sort of citadel or raised terrace, and beneath, in the valley, is a fine ancient well. The old sites in this part of the country bear a wonderful resemblance to one another. Keilah, Adullam, Shaaraim, and even Gath and Gezer, might be described in almost the same words. Positions naturally of immense strength, they show in their terraces, caves, and crumbling mounds the traces of their ancient importance, and a good water-supply exists in each case near these cities. Shaaraim, if in the hands of Judah, would have formed an important outpost against Gath; but though, unlike the latter, it occurs in the lists of Joshua, it had probably fallen into the hands of the Philistines, who, in the time of Saul, seem to have reached the plenitude of their power.

Gath.—As regards Gath, it is only necessary to say that the requirements of the narrative seem fully met by the Tell el Sáfi site advocated by Dr. Porter, and which alone fits with the description of the Onomasticon. Gath so placed guards the entrance of the valley of Elah into the plain, and is about six miles from the scene of the conflict.

The sites thus proposed serve considerably to elucidate the account of the battle. Saul, coming down from the hills by the ancient road from Jerusalem to Gaza, which passes near Shochoh, must have encountered the Philistines very near the great bend in the valley. Thus the two forces divided by the torrent bed are placed in a natural relative position: Saul on the *east*, coming from the east; the Philistines on the *west*, coming *from* the west, having Shochoh south of them and Shaaraim behind them. The position usually assigned north and south has no such strategical significance as the one thus advocated.

The photographs of Lieut. Kitchener, showing on the one hand the sweep of the valley, its broad extent of cornfields, flanked with low hills

of rock and brushwood, and on the other the great hill of Shaaraim and the olives and terebinths at its feet, will give a far better idea of the scene than any I can convey in words; but to one standing on the spot and looking across to the high and broken line of the hills of Judah, and at the broad vale in which a great host might easily have encamped, there will appear to be a perfect fitness in the site to the famous events occurring in it.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.,
In Command Survey of Palestine.

THE SAFED ATTACK.

MOUNT CARMEL, 15*th July*, 1875.

BEING placed in command of the expedition, owing to the temporary illness of Lieutenant Conder, I write by his wish to inform the Committee that the survey is at present entirely suspended in consequence of two causes—the first being a murderous and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed (particulars enclosed); the second the gradual spread of cholera over the north of Palestine. Lieutenant Conder and myself consider, under these circumstances, that we cannot take the responsibility of conducting the party again into the field till a very severe punishment has been awarded to the inhabitants of Safed, and until the steady advance of the cholera is checked. I feel certain that neither of these obstacles will be removed under two or three months.

Dr. Varton, who is at present in attendance on Lieutenant Conder, with Dr. Chaplin, and other medical men, predict an unusually unhealthy autumn, which will be followed by the two or three months of winter, during which work is impossible.

The non-commissioned officers, though ready to go through any amount of work or danger, are much discouraged at the prospect of an indefinite delay without employment, which, in my opinion, is more trying in this climate than work. The south country is also closed, as the Arabs have refused to lay down their arms, and are, I believe, still engaged with the Government.

Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Conder and myself both consider it our duty to recommend the Committee to break up the expedition for a time, and recall the non-commissioned officers, empowering Lieutenant Conder and myself to remain as long as the legal proceedings require our presence. In case of any delay or difficulty in obtaining justice, we feel we have a right to expect that the Committee will give us their strongest support. Lieutenant Conder has considered it his duty to report the facts of the case to the Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers. He has telegraphed to Constantinople, and placed himself in communication with the Consul-General at Beyrout.

Lieutenant Conder is at present in bed, recovering from an attack of fever, brought on by the severe nature of the wounds on the head he received in the fight at Safed. Five of our servants are ill in their beds, besides one in hospital at Safed, and I myself am still suffering from the bruises I received during the engagement. The non-commissioned officers were only slightly bruised.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

Copy of Letter to the Consul-General of Beyrout.

HAIFA, 14*th July*, 1875.

SIR,—I have to request your interference in an exceedingly serious case of murderous and unjustified assault on my party by the Moslem inhabitants of Safed, who, at the time at which I write, are still unpunished.

On Saturday, the 10th July, we arrived about 4 p.m. at Safed, from "El Ba'ineh," and erected our tents on a piece of uncultivated ground under olives near 'Ain el Beida, north of the Moslem quarter. A number of Moslems became spectators of our proceedings. A small English tent was being erected when many of these persons, including one well dressed in a turban and white abba, came down to it and began in a very insolent manner to examine it, laying their fingers on everything and behaving with marked want of courtesy and respect. I am informed that they said they had seen "many dogs like us before."

A ten-chambered revolver, hanging on a tree by the tent, was missed at this moment, and its owner, one of my servants, began to inquire whether any one had seen it. I am informed that the leader of the Moslems cursed him in reply. At this moment I came out of my tent, where I was resting, and heard my head servant address this man with civility, using the expression *hadrabuk*, and telling him to go away, as it was not his business. I heard the sheikh reply violently with imprecations, and saw him fling two or perhaps three very large stones at my head servant. The latter did not reply by violence, but took the bystanders to witness that an unprovoked assault had been made upon him. I advanced as quickly as I could without arms, and with nothing in my hands. Before I spoke a single word the sheikh seized me violently by the throat. In defence I struck him in the face with my fist, and knocked him down. He got up and again assaulted me, when I struck him right and left, and cut open his lip. When on the ground he drew a knife, which measures half a foot length of blade. My head servant fortunately saw him just before he stabbed me, and two of my people took it away from him, and seized him, intending to retain him until the arrival of government officials. They also bound him, but not by my order.

The sheikh called out many times, "Where are my young men?" (*shebab*), and some of those who were with him ran to the houses.

A crowd collected in an astonishingly short time, and in a few minutes it must have numbered two hundred or more men.

I ordered the sheikh to be immediately released, but he refused at first to leave the camp, though he subsequently retired for arms. Meanwhile he encouraged his people to kill all the Christians.

They began by a shower of enormous stones upon our party, which only numbered fifteen persons, of whom two were ill at the time.

Lieutenant Kitchener and myself, supported by our three non-commissioned officers, none having any firearms or other offensive weapon in our hands or about our persons, endeavoured to calm the disturbance, and to separate the crowd from our servants, who, infuriated at the treatment I had received, were anxious, in spite of their small numbers, to attack the Moslems. The five Europeans were in imminent danger of their lives from the falling stones. Whilst thus engaged, Lieutenant Kitchener was seriously injured on the thigh with a huge stone. Corporal Armstrong and Corporal Brophy less severely on the feet. We restrained both parties, and entirely prevented our servants from using any offensive weapon, though many of them were struck on the head and body with stones. As soon as a separation had been made, I ordered all my party into the tents, to prevent aggravation of the infuriated mob, who were heaping every species of blasphemous epithet on our religion and on the Saviour. The natives of my party were too excited to obey my order. I went out in front and threatened the mob with heavy future punishment, daring them to stone me, but they had lost their senses too much to be intimidated.

At this moment there arrived a number of armed men, apparently the sheikhs of the quarter, who encouraged the crowd. Of these, one man had a large scimitar and a carbine, another a battle-axe; two had large clubs (*dabbús*), and another a long gun. To these weapons I can swear and believe there were many more.

Lieutenant Kitchener and I were immediately surrounded. Three came to me and asked with curses what I was doing. An old man thrust his battle-axe violently into my side, but I did not like to strike him, though I had now a hunting crop in my hand. I told them they were mad, and would be severely punished if they struck an Englishman. About this time other members of the party saw a gun levelled at me five yards off, but fortunately the man's hand was caught before he fired. A man now came into the crowd which surrounded me, and dealt me a blow on the head with a large club with great violence, causing two wounds on the side of my head, covering my face with blood. A second blow, directed with full force at the top of my head, must inevitably have brained me had I not put my head down to his chest. My servants gave me up for dead. The blow fell on my neck, which ever since has been so stiff and swollen that it is impossible to turn it round. The rest of the party saw me fall. As soon as I got up I dealt this man a blow in the face with the handle of my whip which staggered him, but my whip flew out of my hand and left me entirely unarmed. I must inevitably have been

murdered but for the cool and prompt assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, who managed to get to me and engaged one of the club men, covering my retreat.

A blow descending on the top of his head he parried with a cane, which was broken by the force of the blow. A second wounded his arm. His escape is unaccountable. Having retired a few paces from the thick of the fray, I saw that the Moslems were gradually surrounding us, stealing behind trees and through vineyards, and I well understood that in such a case, unless the soldiers arrived at once, we must all die. Many of the servants had indeed already given up hope, though no one fled. I gave the order to leave the tents and fly round the hill.

Lieutenant Kitchener was the last to obey this order, being engaged in front. He retreated to his tent, and whilst running he was fired at, and heard the bullet whistle by his head. He was also followed for some short distance by a man with a huge scimitar, who subsequently wounded with it more than one of our people.

Gaining the cover of some trees, we stopped on a bare hill-side to consult, and ventured back to the brow to reconnoitre. At this moment the soldiers arrived with an officer, and the English Consular-Agent, Herr Marcus Cigal. I am informed that all the offensive weapons were immediately concealed, the stoning and blasphemous language ceased at once, and not an individual of the crowd remained.

I confine this report to the actual experience of myself and Lieutenant Kitchener. The evidence of the rest of the party was taken by Herr Marcus. The more serious injuries may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. Lieutenant Conder: Two raw wounds on the head, and violent swelling from a blow on the neck.
2. Lieutenant Kitchener: Bruise covering all his left thigh, and another on his arm. Both still very painful.

3 and 4. Corporals Armstrong and Brophy: Bruised with stones.

5. Daud (groom): A large raw wound on the side of the head, requiring to be sewn up. He remains very ill with wounds and fever in the Jewish Hospital, *Safed*, and when I last saw him was in a precarious condition.
6. Yakúb (cook): Severely beaten, and hit in the side and on back with large stones. Appeared to be dying.
7. Habib (dragoman): Was fired at, was severely hit in the wind with a stone, and lay on the tent floor incapable of defending himself. He received many other blows.
8. Hassein (muleteer): Received two wounds on his head and neck with clubs and stones, and was shot at.
9. Hassan Abeideh (muleteer): Struck with sticks and stones. A violent blow with the scimitar levelled at him cut the tent ropes in two.

The rest of the fifteen were all more or less injured with clubs, stones, and a few with sword cuts. The only wonder is that more

injury was not done, but this is perhaps due to the conspicuous dress of the Europeans, especially Lieutenant Kitchener and myself, who wore white jackets, and stood in front of the party.

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This report was left unfinished by Lieutenant Conder when he was taken ill. It will, I think, inform the Committee of all the necessary particulars of the conflict. We retired next day to Mejdel Karum, and on Monday arrived here.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

THE ARABS IN PALESTINE.

(Read at the Royal Institution and reprinted from "Macmillan's Magazine.")

THE labours of numerous explorers, and especially of the Palestine Exploration Fund, have thrown much light on Biblical archæology and topography, and many memorials and souvenirs have been found which help to make us in some degree familiar with the old world of Bible times; but of the country and its inhabitants, as they are at present, it is not too much to say, that but very little is known, especially as regards the light that may be thrown by them upon the past. It is to this modern Palestine—the Palestine of the Arab, as it may be called—that the following observations refer, and they have been made in the hope of showing how the attentive study of it may serve to light up and explain many a dim and misty page in the history of the Palestine of old.

The Biblical texts have been worked at by successive generations of commentators, until all that could be got from them has been extracted, and the periodical return of certain exegetical combinations shows that the series is complete, and the question, so far as they are concerned, exhausted. Next to the important facts which may result from future excavations, there are, in my opinion, two things required to lift Biblical archæology out of the vicious circle in which it has a tendency to turn, and to give it new life—viz., a thorough investigation of the writings of the various Mohammedan authors in the original Arabic text, and an exhaustive study of the manners, customs, and traditions of the sedentary fellaheen of Judæa. For both, a knowledge not only of literary Arabic, but also of the vulgar tongue, is absolutely necessary.

Up to the present time very little information as regards Palestine has been derived from Arabic historians and geographers; with the exception of four or five, and those not the most useful for our purpose, they have been almost entirely neglected. This is a mistake, for they contain a whole mine of valuable indications which may put us on the path of great discoveries, especially of the topographical kind, by adding to the chain of traditions the link, so difficult to seize, which connects the actual

names with the latest evidence of the authors of antiquity. An example taken from my own experience illustrates this, and affords a striking confirmation of one of my recent discoveries of this nature.

Biblical students have long been familiar with the name of Gezer, the city whose Canaanite king Horam was defeated by Joshua, and which became the western limit of the territory of Ephraim. Assigned with its suburbs to the Levites of the family of Kohath, it had the rank of a priestly city, and its primitive inhabitants, through spread by the Israelites, were massacred by one of the Pharaohs, who took the place and gave it in dowry to his daughter, King Solomon's queen. The Hebrew monarch reconstructed Gezer, which was certainly a place of great strategic importance, as is shown by the considerable part it played during the struggles of the Maccabees.

Much information as to the position of the city exists. We learn from many sources—the Hebrew books, the Apocrypha, Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome—that it was situated not far from Beth-horon, in the region of Jabneh and Jaffa, on the confines of the territory of Azotus, about four Roman miles from Emmaus, the site of which has been satisfactorily fixed at the modern Amwas. It is rare to find such precise indications of the position of any Palestine city, and yet the identification of Gezer remained up to 1870 one of the stumbling-blocks of commentators, and one of the *lacunæ* of Biblical topography, the more to be deplored, since in addition to the interest of the place itself, the discovery of its site would give the key to the junction of the territories of Dan, Judah, and Ephraim. Many conjectures have been hazarded. Most commentators, in despair, and supported by a superficial resemblance of names—a *mirage* which too often deceives explorers not familiar with Semitic tongues—placed Gezer at the village of Yazoor, west of Jaffa, and quite close to it: and though both philology and history were agreed that this identification could not be sustained, it was virtually accepted, no examination of the country producing any better solution of the problem. It was my privilege, however, to succeed where others had failed, and that too without ever having seen the place.

As an astronomer finds in space the position of an unseen planet, I marked on the map the exact spot where Gezer would be found, and a subsequent visit only confirmed the previous conclusion. Nor was this result due to exceptional penetration or sudden inspiration. It occurred in the most natural way in the world; and was an application of the method just indicated.

In reading the Arab chronicler, Mejr ed Deen, a writer known chiefly through certain very incorrect extracts given by M. du Hammer Purgstall, I lighted on an incident which took place in Palestine in the year 900 of the Hegira. The chronicler is speaking of a skirmish between a party of Bedaween brigands and a governor of Jerusalem named Jan Boolât, in the district of Ramleh; and in the course of the narrative he says—and this was the point that arrested my attention—that the cries of the combatants reached as far as the village of Khulda (now well known),

and were distinctly heard at another village called Tell el Jezer—the Hill or Mount of Jezer. Now the word Jezer corresponds exactly with the Hebrew Gezer, especially if the initial letter is pronounced soft as in Egypt; and the tract of country was just the one in which to look for the lost site. But unfortunately, all the maps that I consulted were silent on the place, whose existence was nevertheless thus positively asserted, and corroborated by an Arab geographer of the thirteenth century of our era, Yakut, who speaks of Tell el Jezer as a strong place in the district of Falestin—*i.e.*, Ramleh. On consideration, it was clear that Tell el Jezer, being within hearing of Khulda, could not be very far from that place; even allowing the Bedaween a more than ordinary power of lungs. I therefore set to work within a limited radius, and after some search discovered my Gezer at less than three miles from Khulda, close to a village figuring in the map as Aboo Shusheh. Here I found the site of a large town presenting all the characters of a stronghold, and answering to every one of the required conditions. But it was not without trouble that the accuracy of my calculations was thoroughly established; for the name of Tell el Jezer, though familiar to the inhabitants of Aboo Shusheh, of which village the *tell* forms a part, was quite unknown to the people of Khulda, their neighbours, to whom I at first addressed myself. But just as I began to despair of success, an old peasant woman told me that it was at Aboo Shusheh that I must look for Tell el Jezer.

This, as I may almost call it, accidental discovery, which I announced at the time to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, and which was received with some incredulity, met with the most unexpected confirmation four years afterwards—viz., in 1874, when, on revisiting the spot in the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I discovered at Aboo Shusheh, in the exact locality I had fixed upon as the site of Gezer, bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew deeply carved upon the rock, *with the Biblical name of Gezer written in full, and repeated twice*, and marking without doubt the priestly limit, or Sabbatical zone, which surrounded the place.

It is needless to insist upon the inappreciable value of these inscriptions, the correct reading of which is now agreed on by the leading savants both of England and France, and which constitute undoubtedly one of the principal monuments of Jewish history. It will be sufficient to mention the principal gains they furnish to Biblical knowledge. They enable us, first, to know exactly what was the Sabbath-day's journey of the New Testament; secondly, to establish in a decisive manner the position of the city which was the dowry of Pharaoh's daughter; and thirdly, to fix the boundaries of Dan, Ephraim, and Judah. And, more than this, they justify in a most unexpected manner the use of the inductive method hitherto pursued in Biblical topography, and supply a written authoritative testimony which may serve to throw great light on other identifications obtained by the same method.

This one example is enough to show how far a single line of a third-rate Arabic writer may lead us.

But it is not Arabic texts only that must be consulted in order to advance the study of the Bible, it is even more important to examine the traditions preserved by the resident fellaheen. I do not mean by this a few questions put to stupid and suspicious peasants as to the name of village, ruin, or valley, but close, minute, methodical observations of the manners, customs, legends, and superstitions of these peasants. Interrogation is in Palestine the worst of all possible means for getting at the truth. The art of questioning Arabs consists in knowing when to shut your mouth and keep your eyes and ears open—listening so as to draw them on to tell stories, and thus gradually extracting information, while carefully abstaining from asking questions calculated to suggest ideas to minds so credulous and so easily influenced.

The illustrious Robinson and his successors often made the happiest use of oral traditions for topographical purposes. We must, however, bear in mind that this fount of information, abundant as it is, if drawn upon daily will in time diminish; and, what is more serious, that its purity is often troubled by the suggestions of imprudent travellers, which a newcomer, inexperienced in the character of the natives, is liable to consider as so many spontaneous recollections and genuine traditions. If to this source of error, which reminds one of Antony's mystification by Cleopatra when he caught a salt-water fish in the fresh waters of the Nile, we add the want of philological knowledge in the questioner, of which many a pleasant instance might be cited, it is easy to understand that unlimited and exclusive credit must not be accorded to information acquired by a method which needs peculiarly delicate handling. There is something else to be got out of the fellaheen besides a mere list of names; and it is to this point that I would invite the attention of travellers.

Few countries are more travelled in than Palestine; and in few are the manners and customs of the people less known. We may truly say that the population of Oceania, of the extreme East, of Central Asia, of India, of Egypt, and even of the Bedaween tribes beyond the Jordan, are now more familiar to us than that of this little corner of the earth, so often trodden by European travellers. Tourists, pilgrims, and savants pour into the country, but all, nearly without exception, for different reasons neglect to notice, and to render any account of, the only thing which is entirely fresh and untouched—the natives of the place. The reason of this may chiefly be found in the mode of travelling to which the European is condemned in Palestine. Nearly invariably he has to hand himself over to the mercy of the inevitable dragoman, an obstructive animal, peculiar to the social fauna of the Levant, and combining the functions of interpreter, *maître d'hôtel*, guide, and courier, whose acquaintance he has probably already made in Egypt. There, however, it mattered little, for not even a dragoman can spoil the effect produced by the splendour and magnificence of the temples and tombs of the Pharaohs. But while on the banks of the Nile he is kept in his place as

a servant, in Syria he becomes a master and a despot. An amusing picture might be drawn of the misfortunes of those who have become the prey of these gentry, but I will merely mention the great drawback to their presence—viz., that it hinders all direct contact with the peasants, and has the effect of a scarecrow on the suspicious people whose confidence is of supreme value to the investigator.

The Frank traveller passes through Palestine, along the beaten track, with an indifferent glance at the characteristic mien of the men, and a more approving one at the dignified bearing of the women as they walk light and erect beneath their heavy loads. He notices, too, perhaps, the picturesqueness of the costumes; and, when he has learnt from his dragoman that these are fellaheen Arabs, he is charmingly satisfied with the completeness of his information. Little does he suspect that he is in daily companionship with a race which, rude and rough as it is, affords the historian a study of the very highest interest.

The peasants of Judæa are commonly said to be Arabs; and I am willing to admit that they are so in the sense that they speak Arabic. But we must understand what is meant by this vague and deceptive term which is applied to so many distinct races and the heterogeneous remains of so many peoples. Since the predominance of Islam, the whole system of Semitic nationalities has followed the irresistible tendency to unity resulting from the pressure of linguistic conformity and political necessity; and all its numerous divisions, small and great, have poured their waters into this Arab lake, and have converted it into an ocean, in which every confluent loses its name. Looking at this immense Arab sheet, which extends beyond our sight over Asia and Africa, we may well say, "It is a sea." But it is the duty of science to inquire into the origin of this collective reservoir; and to track to its source, if need be along its dry bed, each one of its tributary streams.

The race which occupies Judæa, especially its mountainous part, a sedentary and not a nomadic one, with customs of its own, and a language full of peculiarities, is not, as I have before had occasion to state, that of the nomad hordes who came from Arabia with the Caliph Omar, and who are for the most part settled in the towns. The odd popular prejudice which obstinately believes that the Mussulman Arabs, who became masters of Syria after the defeat of the Greek troops, took altogether the place of the original inhabitants of the country, and are, in fact, the people whom we find there now, cannot be too strongly combated. No such change resulted from the Mussulman conquest; and it is important to insist on this point because it throws a remarkable light, at an interval of more than 2,000 years, on the conquest of Canaan by the *Beni Israel*, or "Children of Israel," as they are called in Deuteronomy.

The Mussulman Arabs, who founded their empire on the ruins of the Byzantine and Persian kingdoms, intentionally left untouched the civilisation which they found already installed and in use. They only added one thing—a dogma—or, to use a less positive term, a religious

enthusiasm: and while strong enough to take everything, were at the same time wise enough to destroy nothing. Conquest was to them a means of gaining easily at the point of the sword the power of sharing in the enjoyment of wealth and prosperity which if left to themselves they could have made no use of. They carefully abstained from meddling with the complex institutions of the Lower Empire. Masters of the marvellous, and to them incomprehensible, mechanism whose fascinations had excited their envy, these historically recent races and their successors declined to touch a spring which they were incapable of regulating, and thus the great pendulum set in motion by the impulses of Rome and Byzantium peacefully continued its oscillations under the Caliphate, and still continues them, marking with gradually diminishing force the already numbered hours of the Empire of the East.

Arab civilisation is a mere deception—it no more exists than the horrors of Arab conquest. It is but the last gleam of Greek and Roman civilisation gradually dying out in the powerless but respectful hands of Islam. A civilisation, be it remembered, cannot be produced spontaneously, or improvised, any more than can a patrimony; it is the hereditary accumulation of living forces—a treasure formed by the hoarding of ages, which a robber may take in a moment and dissipate in a day, but which his whole life would be insufficient to create. But the Arab conquerors, *parvenus* though they were, without a history and without a past, respected everything—administration, science, and arts—only turning everything to their own profit. They even went so far as occasionally to grant the privileged holders of this intellectual monopoly a concession, which, to the army, enlightened only by the flame of fanaticism, must have cost much—viz., a truly admirable religious liberty.

The basis of all finance being the revenue of the soil, it is the first business of a conqueror to reassure the vanquished by allowing those who have always cultivated the ground to continue doing so. And this the Mussulman conquerors, who, as regards agriculture, knew no soil but the sand of the desert, and no tools but the point of the lance, with rare good sense did. They retained in Syria the cultivators of the land in the same way that they retained the cultivators of arts and of knowledge. This arrangement was acquiesced in more readily by the peasantry than by the townspeople, though the latter made but a faint show of resistance. In fact, the whole population accepted by a large majority, not only the language of their conquerors, which was somewhat akin to their own Semitic dialect, but also their religion, in which they saw a slight but attractive resemblance to their own vague Christianity.

Of this phenomenon, however, a still earlier example may be cited in the history of Palestine. For who were the peasants whom the Mussulmans found on their entrance into Judæa, and who have become the fellaheen of our days? Were they Jews? The wars of extermination waged by Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Hadrian, and the persecutions of the Christian emperors, left not one stone upon another of either political or

ethnic Judaism; they made it a *tabula rasa*, and cast the *débris* to the four winds of heaven. Jewish tradition, properly so called, is for ever lost in Palestine; and all the Jews now found there have, without exception, come to the country at a comparatively recent date. Were they Greeks? We know for certain that, during the period that elapsed between the dispersion of the Jews and the appearance of the Arabs, the villages of Judæa were occupied by a population speaking a Semitic dialect. If, then, these peasants were neither Jews nor Greeks, what were they? I answer that their origin may be traced to a far earlier period, and that if we examine into the question, we shall find very strong proof that the Mohammedan conquest was almost the literal repetition of the more ancient invasion of Joshua. The analogy between the two events is very striking; in both we have a people conquered and enslaved by masses pouring in from nearly the same regions, and impelled by the same necessities.

Nomads like the first Mussulmans, and imbued like them with the irresistible force of religious conviction, the Israelites burst over the Promised Land, attracted by its natural wealth and by a civilisation, the existence of which may be inferred from the Biblical writings. In some parts of the country they speedily obtained a footing, though in others they encountered a more obstinate resistance than the Mussulmans did, the federative system of the Canaanites lending itself better to a prolongation of the strife, and the political conditions being different.

The problem of the permanent occupation of the country received the same solution as in the later invasion; the chief thing in both cases being to secure the proper cultivation of the ground. This fact has led to the remark, in itself a just one, that the Mosaic legislation was founded on agriculture. But shepherds could not have transformed themselves in a single day into agriculturists; they must at first have made those who understood it produce for them the fruits of the land which they had divided into tribe territories and family fiefs. It is true that they expelled from the country certain turbulent clans who, notwithstanding their forced submission, for a long time exercised on the intruders a pressure not unsalutary; and who finally, with characteristic elasticity, came back after the disappearance of the Jews to the places whence they had been driven. But the new occupants were obliged, whether they wished it or not, to allow the bulk of the primitive inhabitants to remain in the country; and the precautions of all sorts taken by the Jewish lawgiver to prevent the vanquished and the conquerors from mixing, lest the religious belief of the Jew should suffer by the contact, is itself a proof that they lived together side by side. That the aborigines, after troubling the religion of Israel a long time by their pagan superstitions, should end by adopting it, and by being mingled though not confounded with their conquerors, was natural enough; and opinions are still divided as to which of these two races, allied in speech, abandoned its own dialect and adopted that of the other.

The union was, nevertheless, not so complete as to prevent the

Assyrians from easily picking out for deportation the families of pure Israelite race; and thus depriving the country of its foreign aristocracy, while they left on the soil the serfs by whose labour it could be made to render tribute. For great empires did not carry on war for the barren pleasure of destruction (a pleasure insufficient even for barbarians), but to augment their wealth; and it is evident that such partial colonisation as that of Samaria would have been insufficient to repeople Palestine.

The unstable amalgam of races which, on the return from exile, endeavoured to reconstitute itself into a nation and even acquired some cohesion under the energetic rule of the Hasmoneans, could not escape falling to pieces when brought into contact with Greek influences. The Hellenizing spirit against which those who were Jews by descent and conviction had to contend, and which found partisans even among them, marks the commencement of this dissociation. It made continual progress under the Herods, and was completed when the very name of Jew was struck out of the book of nations by the hand of Rome. Græco-Roman paganism had only to show itself in Syria to be accepted and loved. Endowed with a plastic tolerance which embraced with astonishing ease the religious forms of other nations, sometimes pouring itself into their moulds, sometimes melting down their monstrous idols and remaking them after its own images, this paganism—this extra-biblical monotheism of antiquity—brought with it, to those who welcomed it with rapturous submission, but one reforming element, that of æsthetics; it exacted but one sacrifice, that of ugliness; imposed but one discipline, that of pleasure, and one dogma, that of taste; and introduced but one revelation, that of the beautiful. Full of consideration for the religions which accepted its seductions, it exercised no violence except upon those which resisted them. The ancient Syrophœnician divinities, to adopt the term used in the Gospels, willingly consented to inhabit temples of exquisite architecture, where the only conditions of entrance were a Greek costume, and the assumption of one of the many names and attributes in the rich pantheon. Then it was that, under the stimulating action of the breeze from Greece and Italy, the dried-up *flora* of Semitic mythology burst into a thousand new perfumes and colours. Palestine had a large share in this reawakening, and from Dan to Beersheba regenerated polytheism soon obscured the very recollection of the austere law of Jehovah.

The political triumph of Christianity crushed this growth. The land where the seed of the Crucified Sower had so marvellously fructified; where grew the first ear of that corn which was to be multiplied infinitely, and to furnish the religious needs of the world for centuries with the bread of the Spirit; the nursery of a creed whose cradle was a tomb, and whose flag a gibbet—this little land became the object of a special adoration, a kind of topolatry, when the Church mounted with Constantine the throne of the Cæsars, and assumed the imperial diadem, after having worn so long the martyr's crown.

So great was this love of holy places, and so passionate the desire to expiate the cruel mysteries of which they had been the theatre, that during the whole Byzantine period Judæa was overrun by monks, and transformed into one vast convent. Everywhere local paganism had to give way to Christ returning as a master to the land of His birth; but, as a final protest against the persecution to which they submitted, the pagans, driven out from their temples, now transformed into churches, took refuge in the schisms and heresies of which Syria was always the grand manufacturer.

At this troubled period, while the country was agitated by the conflict between the new propaganda and the old beliefs, a new element appeared on the scene. Islam is in fact a form of Christianity, most schismatic, most heretical if you will, but still Christianity, for many a sect of so-called Christians differs more than Mohammedanism does from certain established axioms of Christianity. The new dogma, Christian in doctrine, Jewish in ritual, made up of laws and regulations suited to the wants of wandering Arab tribes, owed its escape from the ignominious extinction which befell similar sectarian creeds, to certain political causes. The secret of its wonderful success was that it placed itself in opposition to Byzantium, and became the heart and soul of the struggle against official Christianity. This it was that gave it strength and life, and enabled it to rally to its side those populations who had only renounced paganism and accepted Christianity under compulsion, and who welcomed the Mussulman conquest, and the supremacy of the faith of Islam, as a means of protesting against the politico-religious tyranny from which they had suffered.

These *Kooffars*—an appellation derived from their living in *Kefrs*, the Arabic for villages, just as the similar term *pagani* is derived from the Latin *pagi*—would have returned to their old heathen creeds when once withdrawn from the Christian yoke; but on this point the Mussulmans were inflexible; they tolerated the Christians and the Jews as being their own spiritual forefathers, but they had inherited against the pagans the implacable hatred which animated Christianity, and which utter extermination could alone satisfy.

Resigned Mussulmans under the Mussulman rule, bad Christians under the Christian rule, after having been fervent pagans and mediocre Jews, the land-tilling mountaineers of Judæa, sons of the soil and the rock, are ready to become afresh whatever their masters of to-morrow may demand, if only they are allowed to remain on the land. It is this extraordinary attachment to the soil which has made and still makes them willing to endure everything rather than leave it.

If this race has thus been able to resist, or rather to survive conquest; if this stratum of humanity has been unchanged by the other strata which have been laid upon it, *a fortiori* has it been little effected by the many ephemeral invasions, the human deluges, which have overrun Palestine from time to time. The wave swept away everything that tried to stop it, but could make no impression on this impermeable stratum

over which it ran foaming, and which emerged intact as soon as it had passed. The invasion which most resembled a conquest, and at one moment threatened to reverse the destinies of Palestine, was the occupation of the Crusaders; but it was too shortlived to have any effect on the Arab ways of thought and feeling already impressed upon the people. It merely left here and there what may be called an anthropological trace of its passage; and the yellow hair and blue eyes which sometimes even at the present day the astonished traveller may see beneath a Bedaween kefeeyeh or a fellah turban, are the sole legacy of the Crusader to the people of Syria.

I have, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that the fellaheen of Palestine, taken as a whole, are the modern representatives of those old tribes which the Israelites found settled in the country, such as the Canaanites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Philistines, Edomites, &c. In what proportion these various tribes are now represented, and whether they were preceded by a still older autochthonous population—Ankim, Horites, &c., are questions which, in the existing state of science, it would be useless to enter into. But though this race, or rather conglomeration of races, which may be designated, for want of a better, by the vague title of pre-Israelite, still survives beneath its Mohammedan exterior, it has not remained uninfluenced during the lapse of centuries by the many events and circumstances that have happened in Palestine. Each successive change in the social and political condition of the country has more or less affected it in various ways; and we must not be surprised, when studying the fellaheen, at finding Jewish, Hellenic, Rabbinic, Christian, and Mussulman reminiscences mingled pell-mell and in the quaintest combinations, with traits which bring us back to the most remote and obscure periods of pre-Israelite existence.

It is very difficult to sift this farrago, and determine to what epoch each part belongs; the more so because chronology, the perspective of history, is as entirely ignored and even hated by the popular mind, as was ordinary perspective by the primitive artists, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the same tradition has often—like those re-stamped coins which are at once the joy and the despair of numismatists—received impress after impress from the successive coiners who have left their effigies on Palestine.

Although criticism is at present unable thoroughly to analyse these complex products, we must not cease collecting them, remembering that all the changes in a tradition are in themselves the surest proof of its antiquity and of its spontaneous development. It may be that in ascertaining the difference between the written story and the legend we may be able some day to calculate, by a sort of ideal triangulation, how far they are both from the truth. Meanwhile science is fortunate in having ascertained the fact that there still exists in Palestine, not only some remains of the old Semitic polytheism—as I urged six years ago in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, and which no one will deny now—but also that there are relics, still to be recognised, of Biblical tradition, just as in our fairy tales are found fragments of the Aryan mythology.

The astonishing way in which the peasants have preserved the names of places is a good instance of this, and is also a proof in favour of the argument that they themselves are unchanged. It is worthy of remark in passing that the *ethnic* name—that is, the name by which the *inhabitants* are known, and which is derived from the locality—is very often more archaic in form than the name of the *place* itself. There are many examples of this interesting fact which may prove very useful in testing the accuracy of proposed identifications.

The tenacity with which old religious customs have been kept up is another remarkable circumstance. Not only have the fellaheen, as Robinson conjectured, preserved by the erection of their Mussulman *kubbehs*, and their fetishism for certain large isolated trees, the site and the souvenir of the hill sanctuaries and shady groves, which were marked out for the execration of the Israelites on their entry into the Promised Land; but they pay them almost the same veneration as did the Canaanite *kooffars*, whose descendants they are. These *makoms*, as Deuteronomy calls them, which Manasseh rebuilt, and against which the prophets in vain exhausted their invectives, are word for word, thing for thing, the Arabic *makams*, whose little white-topped cupolas are dotted so picturesquely over the mountain horizon of central Judæa.

In order to conceal their suspicious origin, these fellah sanctuaries have been placed under the protection of the purest Mohammedan orthodoxy, by becoming the tombs or shrines of *sheykhs*, *welys*, and *nebys*—elders, saints, or prophets—deceased in the odour of sanctity. But there are numerous indications of their true origin beneath this simple disguise. For instance, the name given to them is often the same as that of the locality, and is not merely a simple name, but a personification, or deification, if I may say so, *of the place itself;* for many legends show that, in the eyes of the peasants, the *neby or prophet has given his own name to the place.*

This close connection of names and places is found in the Phœnician and Canaanite mythology, which is remarkable for the number of its local divinities, and it helps to explain why Moses, not content with ordering the destruction of the pagan sanctuaries, insisted upon the *abolition of the names.* A methodical search for these *makams* is, therefore, of the greatest importance, because their names will enable us to fix the site of cities of which not only the ruins, but the very remembrance has disappeared.

Another point of religious resemblance is the worship of female divinities which we know was common among the Canaanites, and is still practised, many modern kubbehs being consecrated to women. In certain cases there is duality: the wely, or the neby, being venerated in conjunction with a woman, who passes generally for his sister or his daughter. This relationship, originally conjugal, which has been changed by the Mussulmans into one of consanguinity, offers an equivalent of the sexual symmetry of those Phœnician couples so clearly brought to light by M. de Vogüé.

Many of these sacred places are open to the sky, and nearly surrounded by a wall of stone—a veritable *haram*. Others are in natural or artificial caverns. One evening, for instance, I was most positively refused permission to stable my horse in a grotto consecrated to Sheykh Madkur, because the wely would infallibly have shown his displeasure by killing the beast. The Aboo N'sair venerate, not far from Mar Saba, a great stone—Hajar ed Dawäère—which they say was once metamorphosed into a camel in order to carry across the desert the father of their race. This practice of worshipping an animated stone—the *betyle*—is confirmed by certain modern practices analogous to those formerly in use—*e.g.*, the liturgic unction which is still performed with henna over the porch of a *kubbeh*, the fellaheen touching the lintel respectfully, and asking the wely for *destoor*—*i.e.*, permission to enter. Some even avoid profaning the threshold by stepping over instead of on it, like the worshippers of Dagon when entering his temple.

These rustic sanctuaries are crowded with rude *ex-voto* offerings; and the sacred trees, loaded with rags tied to their branches by pious hands, are familiar to every traveller in Palestine. In the *kubbehs* are placed lighted lamps, a practice alluded to in the sixth chapter of the Book of Baruch: while the various points on the surrounding hills whence the *makam* is visible are marked by *meshâhids*, small pyramids of stone which are the *mergamas* (acervi Mercurii) of Proverbs.

The fellaheen attribute to these local divinities a supernatural power of working miracles altogether contrary to the principles of Islam. Not only do they adore but they dread these holy personages, and have for them that *horror sacer* which is the mark of true religious adoration. A *makam* is a place of inviolable sanctity. No one would dare to touch a thing or person on its sacred soil. An infidel may sleep there in perfect safety, provided he does not break through any of the required religious observances. I have often, when travelling, for the sake of economy, without tent or baggage, taken advantage of this prerogative, and experienced, after a long and fatiguing day, the delicious sensation—from an archæologist's point of view—of passing the night on the bare but holy floor of one of these Arab sanctuaries, haunted and guarded by the shades of the Canaanite Baals and Ashtoreths.

But the best proof of the religious character of this feeling, and of the deep hold it has upon the fellaheen, is to be found in the oaths most commonly used by them. The word *Allah* (God) is for ever on their lips, and the formula "*wa haïat Allah*," based upon the Hebrew *haï Elohim*, is used to attest truth or falsehood without the slightest hesitation. They swear fluently, and perjure themselves without scruple, by the light, by the life of their souls, by their heads, by the heads of their companions, by the Temple of Jerusalem (*Haram esh Shereef*), by the *Sakhra*, or sacred rock on which stood the altar, &c.; oaths which were lavished with equal prodigality by the Jews, and bitterly censured by our Lord. But, and this is the remarkable point, if we wish to bind them by a serious oath, it is sufficient to make them take it on their local sanctuary, and then it is extremely rare to find them faithless or bearing false witness.

Many other significant facts might be brought forward; such as the propitiatory sacrifices made by the fellaheen, the ceremonies attending which seem borrowed from the Phœnician ritual; their superstitions about the moon; the amulets, magical hands, the eyes of Osiris in Hebron enamel, made after the method of the Phœnician glass-workers; their fêtes, their parables, their tales, their old songs in strange Arabic, the peculiarities of their dialect, in which the vocalisation strangely resembles the Masoretic punctuation of Hebrew, &c. But I will pass on, without dwelling upon these, to one or two examples of what may be called veritable echoes of the Bible.

Here is the history of Samson as it is told to-day at Sar'a, Ain Shemés, and Artoof, that is to say, on the very scene of the exploits of that hero:—Aboo Meizar, called by some Abool Azem, but known to all under the name Shamshoun el Jebbar, originally of Sar'a, and brother of a certain Neby Samet, whose monument is shown in those parts, was purblind. In the Rumeyleh, the old name of a part of the city of Ain Shemés, stood a church. Aboo Meizar said to his compatriots, "What will you give me if I destroy the church and kill the Christians?" "The quarter of the revenue of the country," they replied. Upon this Aboo Meizar went down to the Rumeyleh, entered the church where the Christians were assembled at prayer, and crying, "Ya Rabb!" (O Lord!) gave a great kick to the column which supported the edifice. Down it fell, burying beneath its ruins Aboo Meizar and the Christians. The inhabitants of Sar'a came to look for his body, and easily recognised it because, as he had told them would be the case, he was stretched on his back, while all the Christians lay face downwards. His *makam* stands on the very spot at Sara where they buried him; and the Sheyhk attached to its service, who resides at Beit Atab, still receives a quarter of all the olives grown between Deir Eban and Ain Shemés—indeed a fellah who once refused to pay these additional dues is reported to have pressed blood instead of oil from his olives:—while it is even now a common saying among the old people of the village that "between Sar'a and Bayt el Jemal was killed Shamshoun el Jebbar." It may be remarked, in passing, that this saying, if compared with the verse in the book of Judges which places the tomb of Samson between Zorah and Eshtaol, would tend to fix the site of the latter city, hitherto undiscovered, at Bayt el Jemal. Another fragment of this same legend has lighted on the head of a certain Neby Hosha, venerated at Eshou not far from Sar'a. This neby, born at Bayt Nabala, being one day pursued by a troup of his foes the Kooffars, took refuge at Eshou, and crying, "It is here that I am doomed to die," sat down, threw his *ihram* over his shoulder, and expired. A wooden sabre, with which he is said to have slain his enemies, is still shown at the *makam* at Eshou. This story may be compared with an incident in the travels of a Jewish pilgrim of the middle ages, Isaac Chelo, who saw at Sar'a the tomb of Samson, where they still preserved the ass's jawbone with which he killed the Philistines.

Turn next to the modern legend in which are embodied confused but

undoubted traces of the taking of Jericho by Joshua, and the standing still of the sun. It varies in many curious ways from the Bible-story; but the following is the pith of it as told to me in the plain of Jericho:—Not far from the site of the City of Palms are the ruins of the *City of Brass*, so called because it was once surrounded by seven walls of brass; and a little farther off is the *makam* of the Imam Ali, son of Aboo Taleb, a sanctuary open to the sky, and the object of extraordinary veneration, in the surrounding country. This city, then belonging to the Kooffars, was besieged by the Imam Aboo Taleb. Mounted on his horse Meimoon, he made the round of the city and overthrew the seven walls of brass one after another by blowing upon them. Then began a terrific combat, and as the day was drawing to a close, and the infidels were about to profit by the darkness in order to escape, the Imam Ali cried out to the sun, "Return upon thy steps, O thou blessed one!" Immediately, with the permission of the Most High, the sun, which was about to set behind the mountain, came back to the east; whereupon the Imam Ali ordered his servant Eblal, who at that moment was on the opposite mountain, at the foot of which is now situated the *makam*, to sound the call for the morning prayer, and proceeded to complete the rout of the pagans with great carnage, and to utterly destroy their city; those who escaped the slaughter being annihilated by wasps. Since that time the two mountains which figure in the story bear respectively the names of the Mountain of the Return, and the Mountain of Eblal the Muezzin.

Lastly, listen to the tragic history of the Levite of Ephraim and his wife at Gibeah. This is how it was told me by an old fellah on the very place itself, which is still called Jabá:—A Christian of Bethlehem was on his way with his wife or his daughter to Tayyibeh, and stopped, as night was beginning to fall, to sleep at Jabá. While they slept certain men of the town came to the house and violated the woman, who was found dead in the morning. The Christian cut the corpse into two pieces, and sent one to Tayyibeh, and the other to Mukhmas to the people of his own religion. These rose immediately. One band came from the east, the other from the west. The first, pretending to fly, drew the people of Jabá out of their town; and thus caught between the two hosts, they were all slaughtered. The massacre took place in the plain called El Merj fil Moonká, between Jabá and the commencement of the Wady Bab esh Shab. To this day the wheat grows to a great height on this accursed spot, but produces no grain.

These examples of what may be called phantoms of the past are enough to show how much the peasant of Palestine, in preserving his own identity, has done for the past history of his race and nation. But living side by side with this obstinately conservative peasant, there is, paradoxical as it may appear, a class yet more conservative who defend even more vigilantly, and guard with greater attachment the ancient forms and beliefs—I mean the women. This curious circumstance has often been remarked in other countries, but nowhere is it more strongly

marked than in Palestine. There the women have continued to be the depositaries of old memories which you would vainly seek for among the men. They are indeed behind their husbands by several centuries: and the disdain with which a fellah, if you speak to him of certain curious customs among the women, replies, with a shrug of his shoulders, "*Shoughl nisouán!*" (women's affairs), is itself enough to show how true this is.

It would be extremely interesting to examine closely these daughters of Canaan, to study their special customs, their funeral dances, their marriage and mourning songs, their prejudices, their peculiar legends, their habitual forms of expression, and a variety of other matters, down to the details of their toilet, which Isaiah denounces as the arsenal of idolatry. Besides, it is among the women—in the often charming patterns with which they tattoo themselves; in the simple paintings with which their pious hands love to decorate the walls of the sacred monuments; in the marvellous embroidery of their veils and robes; in their elegant, shield-shaped dishes, made of coloured and twisted straw; in the forms of the vessels for water and grain, the fabrication of which has retained their monopoly; in the patterns of their jewels and their painted boxes, which they have perpetuated religiously in the bazaars by refusing to buy any other kind—that we shall find what artistic traces yet remain of a people who never really possessed any art but of the most rudimentary kind.

Ample indeed is the harvest which one might hope to reap upon this feminine soil. But unfortunately the explorer has to encounter the almost insurmountable obstacle of sex. Nothing is more difficult for a European than to associate in the slightest degree with the fellah woman, although they do not, like the women of the towns, cover their faces with a veil, but merely draw their long blue sleeve over the mouth. It is no question of modesty or morality; these are sentiments which have always been, and are still, but little known in the East. It is rather an instinctive feeling of mistrust towards a stranger, than any shyness of him as a man. And yet they do not seem to avoid him designedly; they will often readily render him small services, and address him as "my brother," and will willingly enter into conversation in certain cases; but let him make the slightest attempt to put any question, or betray ever so discreet an inclination to get behind the scenes, they take fright at once at a curiosity which they do not understand, and their confidence, gained for a moment, takes wing like a frightened bird. It requires a woman to approach this wild flock; and a European woman prepared to penetrate, without the aid of an interpreter, into the—what shall I say?—the harem of their ideas and their traditions, would carry off a load of scientific plunder far more precious than anything to be found in the uninteresting seraglios of Constantinople and Cairo.

There are in certain corners of the globe races which have had the unenviable privilege of undergoing no change, not even for the better.

These the historian would like to preserve for his own purposes, in their archaic integrity, as fields of study, if not of experiment, and as a kind of laboratory in which he could observe at leisure the phenomena of human evolution. But, unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, such day-dreams are always destined to be upset by the progress of civilisation, which everywhere, sooner or later, sweeps away the ruins of the past to make room for the future. Palestine, so long spared, is already undergoing the common lot. A strong current of immigration from central Europe has for some time set in upon it, and a few years will do what centuries have not been able to effect.

There is no time to be lost. Already the first note of menace has been sounded, and a projected railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, warns us to make haste and accomplish the laborious task of exploration, and perfect a complete inventory of the historic and scientific treasures of this unique country, before it has been deprived of every relic and memorial of the past. It will be too late when, on the spot where the cry of Rachel mourning for her children still lingers, we hear in mocking echo the shrill scream of the railway whistle, and the loud shout of "*Bethléhem ! Dix minutes d'arrêt ! Les voyageurs pour la Mer Morte changent de voiture!*"

THE SITE OF HIPPOS.

By C. Clermont-Ganneau.

(*From the Revue Archéologique.*)

I have, on several occasions, insisted on the importance of reading Arabic literature in the interests of Biblical topography. I have been enabled to prove the utility of this study by discoveries of importance,* and to show that it not only offers a method of control, but also, in certain cases, a *point de départ* for real discoveries.

I have now to offer a new fact establishing the importance of the geographical information furnished by oriental texts. It concerns a place outside the limited area of my own researches—another reason for advancing it, because it will be easy for the first traveller who explores the shores of the Sea of Galilee to verify my suggestion on the spot.

The Decapolis, connected with the gospel narrative by three passages only (Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, and vii. 31) is the least-known part of Palestine. We are neither agreed upon the general limits of this district, frequently mentioned by profane authors, nor on the very names of the ten cities which composed it—"in quo non eadem omnes observant," as Pliny says.

There are, however, some as to which there is no doubt at all. Among these is Hippos. Hippos, according to Eusebius and Jerome, formed, with Pella and Gadara, the centre of this privileged confederation,

* By this means, for instance, I found the royal Canaanite city of Gezer.

which appears to have been a special kind of network matter extending over distinct provinces, rather than a province by itself. "Αυτη ἐστιν ἡ επὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ κειμένη ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἵππον καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Γαδάραν" (Onomasticon).

Pliny, in his enumeration of the cities of the Decapolis, names Hippos between Gadara on the one hand, and Dion and Pella on the other, placing it with Julias on the east of the Sea of Galilee. Ptolemy mentions it between Capitolias and Abila. Josephus says that Hippos was thirty stadia from Tiberias, and the Onomasticon places it beside a fortress called Apheka.

It would be useless to recall the very brief history of this city, to which numismatists attribute those imperial Greek coins bearing the singular designation of ΑΝΤΙΩΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΩ. M. de Saulcy supposes that this legend belongs to a Mount Hippos, placed by Ptolemy in company with another Mount Asalamos, Alsadamos, or Asalmanos, near the Desert of Arabia, and that a city of the same name was built upon the slope of the mountain.*

Perhaps this singularity may be indirectly explained by the passage of Stephen of Byzantium relating to Gadara—"a city of Cœle Syria which is also called Antioch and Seleucia." We should be tempted to apply these words in part to Hippos, especially when we remember that the destinies of the two neighbouring cities seem to have been closely allied, and that Josephus qualifies them as *Greek cities*, taken from the rule of Herod Archelaus, and annexed to Syria after receiving their freedom from Pompey, and being temporarily handed over to Herod the Great. Anyhow it is certain that Hippos was of sufficient importance to give its name to a district, *Hippene*, which bordered on Galilee.

A long time ago attention was called to the connection between Hippos and Haifa, the town of Carmel. Lightfoot was the first to find Hippos in the Sousitha of the Talmud. The principal Talmudic passages, collected by Neubauer, show us Sousitha inhabited by pagans, and often mentioned with Tiberias; the two cities opposite to each other and separated by the lake, were enemies. A rabbi identifies the Tob of the Bible (Judges xi. 3), and consequently the Tobion of Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 13), with the environs of Sousitha.

Not only do remarkable topographic coincidences connect Hippos with Sousitha, but there is also a striking etymological affinity. Sousitha is naturally derived from *sous*, a horse: so that the Semitic name has the same signification as the Greek. This signification seems to have been long known, for the ruins of Hippos represent a horse, winged or not.

Opinions as to the site of Hippos are divided. Some place it at Kalât el Hosn near Feik or Fîk, on the eastern bank of the Lake of Tiberias, and identify the same Fîk with the Apheka of the Onomasticon; others incline to Khirbet es Samra, a little more to the south, and nearer the

* "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte," pp. 344, 345. In reality Mount Hippos is placed by Ptolemy *near Judæa*, that is, far away from Mount Alsalamos; its position, 68° 10′ 32″, is nearly that attributed to Hippos, the city of Cœle Syria or the Decapolis, 68° 32′ 30″.

Jordan. A third opinion, represented by Riess, considers Sousitha and Hippos as two different cities, and identifies the first with the similarly named ruins of El Shusheh or Abu Shusheh, to the north-west of the Lake of Tiberias.

The question is complicated: here is a fact which will help us to simplify it.

It is furnished by a certain Ibn Khordad Beh, Director of the Posts of the Khalifat in the fourth century of the Hegira, who left behind him an interesting *tableau* of the provinces submitted to his administration, under the title of "Book of Roads and Provinces." This valuable text, much ill-treated by copyists, was edited with rare ability by M. Barbier de Meynard.

After describing a route which, starting from Damascus, connects Keswé, Jasem, Fîk, and Tiberias, the chief place of the Jordan, distant respectively twelve, twenty-four, twenty-four, and six miles, the author enumerates in this part of the empire, thirteen districts, the Jordan, Tiberias, Samaria, Beisan, Fahl (Pella), Hawîm, Nablûs, Jadar, Abel, Sousya, Akka, Kedesh, and Sûr (Tyre).

Sousya is the literal equivalent of the Talmudic Sousitha; the slight difference in the termination is insignificant; it may even be purely graphic and consist in a single displacement of diacritic points, which every student in Arabic will understand. Nevertheless Yakût, in his great geographical dictionary, citing this city as belonging to the district of Jordan, gives this orthography, which is besides perfectly acceptable and confirmed by the Kamûs.

The context sufficiently proves that we are in the same region with Sousitha, and the topographic agreement is as satisfactory as the phonetic resemblance.

The certain existence of this Arabic form, Sousya, permits us at once to put aside the proposed connection of Sousitha with Abu Shusheh (the man with the tuft), a vulgar name which might, as it did at Gezer, mask some important locality, and lead to the solution of the still unsettled question of Capernaum.

But there is more: not only the Sousya of Ibn Khordad Beh corresponds with Sousitha, but it is presented under conditions which assimilate it entirely with Hippos, and it supplies the gap which separated the Syro-Greek from the Talmudic city.

We have seen, in fact, that ancient documents frequently associate Hippos with Gadara and Abila. Well, the Arabic text groups together Sousya, Jadar, and Abel. On the other hand, Hippos was the centre of a district mentioned by Hippene, which is the district (Koûra) of Sousya d'Ibn Khordad Beh.

The same passage shows, besides, that in the fourth century of the Hegira, Gadara, which now, according to travellers, bears the name of Umm Keis, still preserved its original name, and it is probable that a careful search on the spot would establish that although fallen into disuse, it has not ceased to exist.

The same accident must have happened to Sousya-Hippos. The true name, without being forgotten, may be hidden by another vulgar appellation; and, for my own part, I believe that a conscientious investigation will enable us to find a Khirbet Sousya, whether at Es Samra, or at Kalát el Hosn, or at some other place. When we find it, we shall be able to place there the enigmatic Hippos.

Besides, the Hebrew word *sous* (horse), which gave birth to Sousitha-Hippos, is not so strange to Arabic as might be supposed. There is the well-known term, *saïs* (groom), the origin of which is clear. Then, I have found in the environs of Lydda, an Arabic locution still employed in the technical language of certain old camel drivers, to signify a track, in distinction to a metalled road, a way practicable only to camels. One is *tarîk er-r'sîf*, the other *tarîk es seïsanè*. The word *seïsanè*, which you will find in no lexicon, is the plural of a disused singular, evidently coming from the root *sous*. It is to be noted, in passing, that the appellation, *tarîk er-r'sîf*, indicates in general the existence of a Roman road.

I cannot terminate this note without touching upon a delicate point introduced into the question by Reland. This scholar, *àpropos* of Hippos, and in the hope of getting some etymological light to bear upon the problem, quotes a curious passage of Pliny, speaking of a certain family of *crustaceæ*. He says: "In Phenice *ἱππεῖς* vocantur, tantæ velocitatis ut consequi non sit." "In Phœnicia there are certain crabs, called horsemen, so rapid that they cannot be caught." Reland had under his eyes another reading *hippoe*, which he regarded as a translation of *ἵπποι*, to judge by the connection which he endeavours to make with our word Hippos.

I do not know which is the true reading: in any case, it seems to me that Pliny has only translated a passage of Aristotle, in which the same word occurs: "Περὶ δέ τὴν Φοινίκην γινονται ἐν τῷ ἀιγιαλῷ οὗς καλοῦσιν ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ οὕτως ταχέως θειν, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον ἔιναι (ταχέως) καταλαθεῖν."

However that may be, it would appear that in Phœnicia the crabs were called *horsemen*, or *horses*, by reason of their extraordinary rapidity. The last simile would be the more logical. Thus a group of *crustaceæ* is mentioned by Pliny under the name of *lions*.

But why does not Pliny use the Latin *equites*, instead of the Greek equivalent? Was *ἵπποι* or *ἱππεῖς* a local idiom of Greek used on the Phœnician shore; or does it conceal a phonetic transcription of a Phœnician word? If so, although this is not likely, the city of Haifa, the Hepha of the Talmud, presents itself to the mind with this strange coincidence, probably fictitious, that Gaba of Carmel, identified by some with Heipha, is called by Josephus the "city of horsemen," *πόλις ἱππεῶν*. But I have already shown that Haifa has nothing to do with Hippos. If we admit that the crabs bore a Phœnician name signifying *horse*, what could that word be?

The Semitic vocabulary offers us an embarrassing choice. The Hebrew *sous* occurs in the name of a Simeonite city, *Hasar Sousa* (Joshua xv. 51), or, in the plural, *Hasar Sousim* (1 Chron. iv. 31).

Here is a precedent, particularly if, as Fürst thinks, following a similar train of derivation, it has already furnished the meaning of *swallow* in Isaiah xxxviii. 14, transferring this idea of rapidity from running to flying. The word is, besides, considered Phœnician. It is found in the name, Abad-Sousim, and perhaps in that of Cabarsus (= K'phar Sous ?).

If the word *sous* had the treble sense of *horse*, *swallow*, and *crab*, to which of the three does Sousitha belong? The Greek translators and the numismatic symbols show that at a certain epoch the most general interpretation, that of *horse*, was the only one received. But this explanation, certainly the most natural, need not be taken for the earliest and truest. We may hesitate in presence of the passage in Pliny: They still bring to the market of Jerusalem fresh-water or land-crabs which abound in certain points of the Jordan basin. Must we admit, if we adopt Reland's view, which certainly seems forced, that Hippos, situated not far from the river and on the borders of the Lake of Tiberias, owed its name to the presence of these crabs?

NOTES ON RUAD (ARADUS) AND ADJACENT PLACES IN NORTHERN SYRIA.

By Greville J. Chester, B.A., Member of the Royal Archæological Institute.

Few, if any, places on that lonely coast of Syria, which once "echoed with the world's debate," excite the imagination and the curiosity of the passing voyager more powerfully than the small island of Ruad, the Arvad of the Book of Genesis, the Aradus of the Greek period, and one of the most ancient historic sites in the world.

The whole coast of Syria is remarkably free from islets, and those which exist are mere uninhabited skerries, but Ruad is not only an island but a city; and such it seems it ever has been ever since its foundation by Arvad, the son of Canaan. Other and more important Syrian cities have risen and have fallen again, and of some scarce even a trace remains; but this island-city of the sea occupies the same space it occupied of old; and its present inhabitants, a fine and courteous race, are what they were in the time of the prophet Ezekiel, viz., bold and skilful mariners, worthy successors of those who aided in navigating the ships of King Hiram. Their profession is still that of the sea, and they are counted able seamen, fishermen, and divers after the sponge, which forms their only article of commerce.

Arvad or Aradus was, and Ruad still is in appearance, very much what Tyre was before Alexander the Great joined it to the mainland by his long artificial causeway—a city, *i.e.*, of limited extent, but occupying the entire surface of a small, flat island of solid rock, rising but

slightly above the waves. But in point of beauty of situation the less celebrated Arvad far surpasses the world-famed city of Tyre. The view thence is every way striking.

In front, Arvad looks out on the sea, whose deep blue waters wash its very walls, and stretch out from thence to Chittim and the Isles of Greece. Behind it looks on Tartûs, or Antaradus, the Tortosa of the middle ages, with its massive castle and magnificent church; and behind Tartûs on a cultivated plain, stretching upwards to quiet hills of graceful outline. To the left, across a noble bay, Arvad turns towards Lebanon, with its vine-clad terraces, its stupendous precipices, its deep, torrent-cut gorges, its vast fields of glistening snow. To the right it looks on the solitary grandeur of Jebel Okra, the seldom-visited and little-known Mount Casius of the ancients.

Ruad lies at a distance of less than two miles from the mainland, and is not opposite to but considerably to the south of the present Tartûs. The cemetery of Antaradus, however, at all events during the Greek period, extended southwards along the coast, and a lonely Tel close to the sea still farther to the south, may mark the end of the precincts of the ancient city in that direction, and is nearly opposite to Aradus.

The island is a low rocky platform, and it possesses a small double harbour, defended by rocks and ancient moles upon them, to the north-east, on the side, *i.e.*, towards Tartûs. The anchorage here, and in the channel outside, under the protection of the island, is pretty good, and safer than most upon that open and dangerous coast.

Modern Ruad occupies almost entirely its ancient site. Along the edge of the harbour, both on land and in the water, are strewn about great numbers of columns of grey granite, turned black by age, and which, I conjecture, in ancient times, formed colonnades and open markets during that later period when *Aradus*, as distinguished from *Arvad*, was an independent state. Similar colonnades seem to have existed at Tripoli, Byblus, and Tyre. Far the most interesting remains, however, at Ruad, are those of the sea walls, which belong apparently to a far earlier epoch—to that, viz., of the *substructions* of the temples of Baalbec, and to the megalithic remains of Amrît. The immense stones of which these walls are built seem to have been hewn out of the rock on the spot, and enormous mechanical power and great skill must have been employed to get them out of their original bed and into their present position. Some of the stones are ten to twelve feet long, by seven and eight high. It is worthy of particular remark that these great stones are *not bevelled*. Four only have deep grooves cut into their upper surface on the side next the land; of these grooves three are semicircular and one square. It is hard to conjecture the purpose of these indentations, but they may possibly have been intended as holdfasts for the cables of ships. In one or two places are vestiges of rude steps, leading upwards to the top of the walls. The two largest fragments of the existing walls are on the western side, *i.e.*, towards

the open sea. They are set on a platform of solid rock, cut even for their reception, and are of four or five courses inside, but of more towards the sea. The total height is probably between thirty and forty feet. In places the interstices are filled up with one or two layers of small hewn stones of coeval antiquity, but in no case has mortar been anywhere used. In one place a great oblong ring has been left projecting seawards from the face of a stone, for the purpose, doubtless, of securing the cable of a ship.

Immediately under these magnificent fragments of ancient masonry is a narrow terrace of levelled rock, washed by the waves and overgrown with seaweed, and this again descends precipitously into the deep sea. Between the two largest remaining fragments of wall, at the distance of only a few yards from the main island, but divided from it by a deep channel, is a small rocky islet, with an artificially levelled surface, designed apparently for the site of a temple; and, in fact, a local tradition relates that one actually existed on the spot.

The walls of Aradus have been spoken of as "double," but I could discover no certain evidence of the fact. They seem originally to have been of great breadth, and the circumstance of the central and less durable portions having been washed away by the action of the waves, has apparently given rise to the statement. No inscriptions whatever exist on these ancient walls; one stone, however, is pierced with two deep circular holes. Upon a rock on the south-western side is indented the representation of an object resembling a gigantic pastoral staff. The local tradition is that it represents and commemorates a huge serpent which once infested the island. It is interesting in this connection to remember that some of the Phœnician coins of Aradus bear impressed upon them the figure of a human-headed serpent, which seems to have been one of the forms of the god Dagon.

On the south side of Ruad are the remains of several houses with chambers cut in the solid rock and left isolated, and in some of them are a few shallow niches which may have served to hold lamps or the figures of household divinities. Some of these rock-hewn dwellings are still lined with plaster. There are, likewise, several remains of baths, both public and private, and one of these is lined with plaster, into which have been let bits of red pottery. Within the walls there seem to have been open spaces between them and the main town. Here the rocks were smoothed down when required, and the fissures were filled in with water-worn gravel, pottery, bits of marble and rubbish, which, by the infiltration of water charged with lime, has been converted into a mass of more or less solid breccia. As in some places the foundations of ancient houses exist on the top of this mass, it is evident that this is no accretion of modern times. The flat surface, however, acquired by the means just described seems generally to have been kept open for locomotion or traffic; no unimportant point in a space so limited as that of Aradus. There seems to have been no spring of fresh water in Arvad, nor is any known at present. The whole water-

supply is drawn from ancient cisterns with conical roofs, executed in the solid rock, and of these there are said to be no less than four hundred. Dr. Porter, following some earlier writer, speaks of several Greek inscriptions beginning, "The Senate and the People of Aradus." These no longer exist *in situ*. I was assured they were only *four* in number, and that they had been carried off to France. I noticed, however, two uninscribed altars, one of black granite near the harbour, and the other of white limestone, on the verge of the burying-ground. An interesting discovery has recently been made of very minute silver Phœnician coins. These are of several types, of which the one most easily deciphered has, obv. a male head, and rev. a (sea?) tortoise. M. Peretie, the eminent numismatist of Beyrout, to whom some of these minute pieces had been brought, believing that they were found in the harbour, conjectured that they were intended to be thrown into the water by departing mariners as a propitiatory offering to the deity of the sea. I was assured, however, on the spot that they were never found *in*, but only on the brink of the harbour, and a place was pointed out on the edge of the cemetery, on the opposite side of the island, where several had recently been discovered. M. Peretie's conjecture may, perhaps, therefore need correction. I saw similar minute Phœnician coins which have recently been found near the Mina of Tripoli at a point where the sea has encroached upon the land. It may suffice here to remind the reader of the equally small copper coins of the lower empire known to collectors as "*Minima*," which are supposed by some to have been used to throw among the populace on occasions of popular rejoicing. Altogether the ancient coins of Aradus form an interesting series. Besides coins of Alexander the Great, of Persian Satraps, of Egyptian Ptolemies,* and of several Roman emperors, there are several types of Aradian money in silver and copper which pertain to the place as an independent city. Of these the most important are the large bilingual silver coins, of which a considerable number has recently been found near Jebeil. They bear obv. the veiled and turreted head of a woman, impersonating the city of Aradus; rev. a victory within a crown of leaves with the legend ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ and a date in Greek, and in addition one or more Phœnician characters. Another type in silver, also inscribed ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ, with obv. a bee, and rev. a deer in front of a palm-tree, seems to be copied from that of well-known coins of Ephesus. Many other coins in silver and copper have Phœnician inscriptions only, and most of them bear on the rev. the prow of a ship—a type appropriate enough for the coins of an island city. One has on the obv. Dagon, the fish-god, and another, already alluded to, a serpent or serpentine fish with a human head.

Having approached Ruad from Beyrout and Tripoli by sea, I prepared to return by land, and accordingly crossed over to Antaradus,

* Some of the Ptolemaic coins inscribed A P may perhaps belong to Arsinöe, or Crocodilopolis, the present Medinet Habon, the capital of the Fyoum.

Tortosa, or Tartûs, a place still containing many remains of interest, although, perhaps, none of very remote antiquity.

The chief building here is the castle—an immense structure of massive drafted masonry, with an outer wall and square flanking towers beyond, descending into a wide artificial ditch cut in the rock outside, except on the side next the sea, where the main castle walls abut upon the beach. Although portions of the wall may belong to an earlier period, I much doubt whether the structure generally dates back to a time anterior of the Crusades. At all events, it is a grand mistake to conclude that a building is of "Phœnician" work simply because its stones are bevelled. The undoubtedly ancient walls of Arvad and the monuments of Amrît, as has already been remarked, are *not* drafted, and the same observation holds good of the vast substruction and the celebrated *Trilithon* at Baalbec. It is true that the guide-books tell us that King Solomon bevelled, but it admits of the gravest doubt whether any of the drafted stones in the walls of the Haram area at Jerusalem belong to any period earlier than that of Herod. That the Romans drafted is true, witness part of the Porta Maggiore at Rome and other buildings there and in Syria, but then no less certainly the Arabs drafted, and the Crusaders drafted. So also did the builders of the late mediæval walls of Nuremberg, so did the Medicean Italians, so also at the present day do the Christian Maronites of Batrûn. Drafting, therefore, or bevelling, upon which some lay so much stress, is, as the test of the date of a building, a very insecure guide. Bearing this caution in mind, I should, on the whole, imagine that the castle of Tartûs is in the main a building of Crusading times, incorporating in some places, and built on the lines of walls of earlier construction, many of whose stones have been used, and their drafting in other cases imitated for the sake of uniformity. The castle in form approaches a square, and is of vast extent, enclosing within its walls a large village with an open *place* in the centre. The principal gateway, which was anciently approached by a bridge over the ditch, which at this point assumes the appearance of a ravine, is on the north-east side, and close to the sea. Within this gate-tower in the outer wall is a lofty Gothic hall, with a groined roof of stone. Another vaulted hall, within the main castle, is of still larger dimensions, and has the vaulting of the roof springing from elegant Corinthianising capitals or corbels, and in one instance from the head of a crowned king. One of the most curious features about the castle of Tartûs is the extraordinary number of masons' marks which exist upon the stones which compose the walls, and of which similar specimens are found upon the castle of Jebeil. These marks appear to be of two kinds, those, viz., which are formed by a blunt instrument being punched into the stone, and those which are incised by some sharp tool. Of these, the former appear to me to be far the more ancient. It is highly desirable that copies should be made of similar marks upon other ruins in Syria, in order that, by comparison, a correct opinion may be formed concerning them. Mean-

while the fact that some of them *resemble* Phœnician letters, and that others *resemble* Greek monograms, on coins of Philip, Alexander the Great, Alexander Ægus and the Ptolemies, should by no means be taken as conclusive that they belong to so early a period. At the same time, it is proper to remember that undoubted Phœnician characters exist on the lower part of the magnificent walls of Tarragona. In the case of Tartûs, as also of Jebeil, some of the marks are plainly Arab and others of Christian origin.

The cathedral which stands outside the walls of Tartûs to the south-east of the town is a very noble building, and in a most extraordinarily perfect state of preservation. Its plan displays a lofty nave and aisles, separated by tall but massive piers, with columns with Corinthianising capitals. The west front has a pointed doorway, with a large threefold window above it, of which the third light is above and between the other two. Seen from within, nothing can be more perfect than the proportions of this noble triplet. On either side, at the west end of each wing or aisle, is an elegant lancet window, with a small square window above, the southernmost lancet having its moulding on the left side ending in a sculptured lion. Over the great western entrance is a large slab of red granite. The church consists of four bays besides the sacrarium, each of which is separated externally by a massive square buttress. The east end, which ends inside in three majestic apses, has each apse square outside, those to the north and south, together with two vaulted sacristies, being, as it were, enclosed in two square towers, which do not rise higher than the roof. The roof itself, which Dr. Porter, who does not seem to have visited the place, most strangely describes as "*entirely gone*," is, on the contrary, intact. It is of vaulted stone, and into the lower part of its curve small square-headed windows have been cut—a very unusual feature. In each bay of the side aisles is one, and in some instances two, lancet windows. The south door is ornamented with a rich moulding. The characteristic of this noble church, whose dimensions are said to be 130 feet long by 93 wide,* is simple grandeur, and its condition is such that it might at any moment be used for Christian worship. The Muslims have recently run up a wretched little minaret over the north aisle, and have placed a paltry pulpit of wood opposite the remains of that of stone which once adorned the nave, but with these insignificant exceptions all is as it was. It is matter for regret that with such noble models for imitation as are presented by this and some other mediæval ecclesiastical buildings in Syria, such a mean and abortive structure should have been put up as the Anglican church at Jerusalem.

To the north of Tartûs, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the walls, is a small *mina*, or harbour, with a few ancient stones lying about on the low rocks, which scarcely serve to shelter it from the open sea. On an isolated rock is a vaulted building, apparently a

* See Murray's "Guide to Syria."

store-house of Crusading times. In this neighbourhood are several tombs hewn in the rock which probably belonged to the early Phœnician inhabitants, but the cemetery of Greek and Roman times was on the sandy ground south of the town, and this still yields many interesting objects of antiquity. Several fragments of sculpture were offered to me for sale. One of these was a draped torso of good style, and I was sorry to be obliged to leave behind a head carved in limestone with a decidedly Egyptian cast of countenance, and with the usual Egyptian head-dress.*

At the distance of about an hour and a half south of Tartûs are the ruins of Amrît, formerly Marathus, the remains of which are of extreme importance, and ought to be carefully explored, planned, and photographed. Unluckily my visit had been preceded by heavy rains, which had so flooded the neighbourhood as to prevent a close approach to two of the existing monuments. The first object of interest was an artificially scarped rock to the left of the track. This rock presents a principal face with two projecting wings. In the front are three round-headed entrances to tombs, the entrance to a tomb on either side being square. About a mile farther to the south is a curious excavated enclosure, cut in the solid rock to the depth of about ten feet, but sloping down from the south northwards, the north side of the court, if such it may be termed, being altogether open. In the midst of this excavated area a platform has been left of natural rock, upon which is erected a shrine of four great stones, of which the uppermost is of larger size and ornamented with a rude overhanging cornice. Within is a stone bench or seat, apparently for the ancient divinity of the place, like those in many Egyptian grottoes, as, for instance, at Gebel Silsileh, but I could not get exactly in front, as the enclosure was full of water, and my horse got engulphed in a bog in my endeavours to reach it.

Half a mile farther south, on the left of the track, are a series of monuments, which, in point of interest and curiosity, vie with the most celebrated structures in Syria. These are four tombs, or rather four sepulchral monuments, which stand near the edge of a ridge of grey rocks running parallel with the sea, and not, as Dr. Porter asserts, "in the desolate plain." The first of these monuments consists of a pedestal formed of a single vast stone, upon which are placed two others which taper upwards, the upper one having a conical top. The whole structure forms a kind of rude obelisk between thirty and forty feet high. Close by stands a second monument of similar but somewhat lower dimensions. Upon a huge pedestal stands another stone, which, at somewhat more than half its height, decreases in size, and then again decreases until it ends in a rounded top. Just below the apex and again below the shoulder there is a battlemented moulding, and the four

* Just outside the North Gate are the remains of some ancient baths close to the sea.

corners of the pedestal below are sculptured to represent the fore parts of as many lions. These curious and weatherbeaten sculptures belong, doubtless, to a very remote period, and may be regarded with great probability as the most ancient in Syria. Still farther to the north are two more monuments. One of these resembles in its form the second already described, but it is considerably smaller. The other is a structure in the form of a sarcophagus, but covering, not the tomb itself, but the entrance to a tomb, which is approached by a square aperture hewn in the rock beneath its southern extremity. On the sides of the ridge upon which these remarkable monuments stand, the rocks are scarped and quarried in every direction, and in one place I perceived the indications of an ancient road cut in the rock.

Still farther south, to the right of the path, is another interesting building, which at the time of my visit could not be entered, as it stood in a pond of deep water. It is a kind of square tower, built of vast unbevelled stones, and surmounted by a bold cornice. In the midst of the eastern side is a square aperture or door. Hard by was another and somewhat similar structure standing on higher ground, but now a heap of ruins. On a hill considerably to the right I observed another large square structure of stone, which, however, in very stormy weather, and with a march of eleven hours before me, I was unable to visit. Not a human habitation now exists amidst these relics of the past nor around the once populous precincts of Ain el Haiyeh. Yet the lower ground is ploughed in places by the Bedouins, who dot the neighbouring plain with their black tents, and on the rocks are fed numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The almost crimson colour of the soil, especially where turned up by the numerous moles, contrasted beautifully with the green springing corn, and the grassy places were literally bejewelled with innumerable wild flowers. The country around is studded with an immense number of Tels, which would doubtless repay a visit as marking the sites of ancient and long-forgotten towns.

On my way back to Beyrout, between Tripoli and Batrûn, I passed some ancient remains which may deserve mention, as I can find no notice of them elsewhere. These remains consist of the ruins of what was apparently a small temple, situated on lofty ground, commanding a fine view of the sea and of the Ras of Enfeh far below. Two niches in the outer wall are of curious construction. Upon a basement are placed two upright stones, which are flat within, but externally are cut out so as to form recesses or niches, the two upright stones being in both cases surmounted by a single large one. In the fields hard by lie many sculptured stones, a rude piece of a frieze, and a huge circular stone with a shallow basin cut in its upper surface, and designed apparently for an altar. In the road is a cistern hewn in the rock. The place is named Ard Zacroon. On a still higher point, a little to the south, are some other vestiges of ancient buildings.

The town of Jebeil, formerly Gebal and afterwards Byblus, offers many objects of antiquarian interest. A good deal of drafted masonry

exists about the harbour, where also the immense number of prostrate granite columns, which lie about in all directions, testify to the splendour of the colonnades which once adorned the spot. The picturesque castle, still partly occupied by the Turkish garrison, is built throughout of bevelled stones, some of which are incised with masons' marks like those at Tartûs. Its plan exhibits a lofty central keep, surrounded by a massive wall with square towers at each angle, of which one is plainly of later work than the rest. That the whole is a reconstruction is evident from the fact that columns and portions of carved friezes of earlier buildings are worked into the basement of the walls. The building may probably be ascribed to the Crusaders. The keep is entered by a square-headed doorway of drafted masonry (which indeed is employed throughout), and above it is the segment of an arch composed of three stones. The material employed is partly yellow limestone and partly conglomerate or pudding-stone. In an outbuilding a Greek inscription has been built into the wall, and close by a staircase leads down into a passage which is said to end only at the sea. In the garden of a cottage south-east of the town several remains of Roman time have recently been brought to light. Among them I noticed four altars, one in perfect preservation and with its four "horns" complete, a votive niche with its figure wanting, but bearing an *eye* sculptured in relief in the pediment, and two mutilated inscriptions, one in memory of a Roman soldier and the other dedicated to a certain Fortunatus. The principal Maronite Church of Jebeil is a large and handsome Gothic structure. It has three apses with a round-arched window in each. In the front is a pretty rose window. Over the north door is a *Cufic* inscription, and outside it a beautiful Baptistery, of which one side leans upon the church. It exhibits a dome supported by four pillars, and the lofty pointed arches above are enriched with exquisitely varied chevron mouldings. In the yard outside, covering tombs, are two beautifully carved fragments of Greek sculpture in white marble. At the distance of about an hour and a half from Jebeil, and about half an hour from the Nahr Ibrahim, I made a somewhat interesting discovery. This was a cave to the left of the road, within which rude benches have been cut in the rock. I found here great quantities of hard breccia like that discovered by Dr. Tristram near the Nahr el Kelb, and composed of an immense quantity of flint flakes worked by hand, bones and teeth of animals, and sea shells, the occupants of which had, without doubt, been used as food by the primitive inhabitants of the cave. The teeth were, I believe, those of the ox. I was informed that the place is named *Asforeyeh*. In this connection it will be proper to mention a discovery recently made at Beyrût. While waiting for the steamer at Jaffa I purchased of a young American of the United States a beautifully worked lance-head of flint which he had picked up on the Ras. On arriving at Beyrout I took advantage of the late extraordinary heavy rains to visit the spot, which is situated in the midst of the accumulation of blown sand which occupies the highest portion of the Ras. No time could have been more propitious for the purpose, as the

rains had in many places washed the sand entirely away and exposed the hard, dark-red marl beneath, and such an opportunity may not occur again for years. I found that this marl was in places strewn with flakes of flint, amongst which I discovered a beautiful leaf-shaped lance and two saws, shaped out of yellowish flint. Half a mile to the south-east of this spot I came on another place of the same kind, where, if possible, the flint-flakes were even more numerous than in the first. In subsequent visits I picked up two carefully worked lance-heads, some more saws, and two larger implements. That these flint implements were made on the spot is plainly evident, for I discovered at least eight little mounds where the flint-worker had sat chipping at his manufacture. These spots abounded with large flints, as well as in flakes and more perfect specimens. It is to be feared that these interesting mounds will be speedily reburied in sand. Besides the relics of the prehistoric period, this site abounds in remains of later epochs and people. Great quantities of fragments of broken glass of various colours are strewn about in all directions, and belong, apparently, both to Græco-Phœnician and Roman times. To the latter, also, may be referred the numerous tesseræ and pièces of green Egyptian porphyry, verde antico, and other precious and now extinct marbles, which are always signs of occupation by wealthy people. I found also a small Phœnician and a small Roman coin in copper. M. Peretie, I understand, has obtained numerous coins from the same place.

NOTE.—Since writing the above I have seen the Rev. Henry Maundrell's "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," 1697; Second Edition, 1707. He gives an interesting account of his visit to Amrît (he did not cross over to Ruad), tolerably correct engravings of the two principal towers, and a plan of the sepulchral chambers, now closed up, which he found underneath them.

ARABIC AND HEBREW.

I WOULD call attention to the manner in which many modern Arabic words may differ from the Hebrew or Aramaic, just as do modern Spanish words from the Latin. Thus we have in Latin and Spanish respectively:—Porcus, puérco; Bono, buéno; Bos, Buéy; Capillulus, Cabelluélo; Cornu, cuérno; Tempus, tiémpo. And we have in Hebrew and Arabic:—Socho, Shuweikeh; Saphir, Sawafû, &c. Following on this track we obtain from Lûweireh, Loreh; Dâwaimeh, Dumeh; Sûweimeh, Sumeh; Kawassimeh, Kassimeh; Hawara, Hara, &c. No doubt there are many known differences in European languages which may be found to apply also to Hebrew and Arabic. I have to suggest that a few simple rules on this subject might be arrived at which would aid the explorer in rapidly making a tentative examina-

tion of any Arabic word in order to test its likeness to the Hebrew or Canaanitish.

CHARLES WARREN.

18th June, 1875.

NICHES FOR SKULLS.

2nd August, 1875.

IN reference to Lieutenant Conder's opinion that the pigeon-hole niches at Masada were for skulls, I may mention a recent example which I saw in the island of Samos. A small Greek church, built about twenty years ago, had on each of the two bay sides six such niches. Each contained a skull and crossbones—an extraordinary sight. These, I was told, were in honour of the founders of the church. The other bones, as is common among the Asiatic Greeks in burial, had been destroyed by quicklime. Whether this is in any degree a vestige of cremation may be worth investigation. While a Turkish village is surrounded by numerous tombs, giving rise to the vulgar error of the decay of the population, a Greek village of the same or larger size will not show any beyond the very small graveyard.

HYDE CLARKE.